1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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traditionally sovereign chiefs are entitled to sit with their village headmen, and assist the president and his village headmen in the hearing of cases. Much of the legal business previously transacted by each chief in his own country is now taken to court (*KwiKoroti*); but the power of village headmen to settle disputes by arbitration in their separate villages is still the basis of the legal system.

Though the Administration has worked through the traditional authorities it has consciously and deliberately modified the traditional system; and, as part of its policy of development, it has established schools, dispensaries, and nurseries for coffee-seedlings and other plants. There are three schools in Rungwe district receiving Government grants: one directly under the Administration, one under the Native Authority, and one a mission school. There are also a great number of 'bush schools', that is, mission village schools under uncertificated teachers giving instruction in the three R's and in religion. Over 19,000 children (12·6 per cent of the population served) are enrolled in the various schools; but 96 per cent of these are in 'bush schools', many of whom never learn even to read and write.

The structure of Nyakyusa society has been further complicated by the conversion of a substantial minority (16 per cent in 1938)[1] of the people to Christianity. The Christians form a group with values radically different from those of the pagans, on whom they react in innumerable ways.[2] The growth of this diversity in the society is a direct effect of its diminishing isolation.

To treat of Nyakyusa villages as if missions, or the Administration, or migrant labour and coffee export did not exist would simplify, but distort our analysis. We have therefore included some account of the differences in behaviour between pagan and Christian, of the effects of centralization on the position of village headmen, and of the influence of trade and migration on economic co-operation in the village. A discussion of the organization of schools and Christian congregations; of the development of courts of record, and 'court districts'; of the relation between

[1] Calculated from figures supplied by the courtesy of the missions and the independent African Churches working in the district.

[2] Moslems are very few and they have little influence on the community as a whole. These few are mostly Swahili traders, Ngoni settlers, or soldiers of the K.A.R. from Nyasaland. We heard of only two or three Nyakyusa who had turned Moslem.

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484
212
166
878

5. SUMMARY OF LABOUR HISTORIES

Information from men concerned

Category	No. of Cases	Worked	Average Total Period (those who worked)	Working One Year and over at a stretch	Schooling		Skilled and Semi-skilled (of those working)	Place of Work		
					Illiterate	Beyond Village School		In District only	Lupa Gold-fields	Out of Province
Pagan: Middle-aged and over	13	85%	5 months	23%	100%	Nil	10%	10%	—	8%
Christian: Middle-aged and over	10	100%	13 years, 4 months	90%	50%	Nil	60%	60%	—	Nil[1]
Pagan: Young	24	92%	—[2]	17%	63%	4%	5%	10%	70%	20%
Christian: Sons of pagans, young	11	91%	—	40%	9%	36%	40%	30%	70%	Nil
Christian: Sons of Christians, young	21	100%	—	38%	5%	19%	81%	5%	66%	29%
Total	79[3]	94%	—	38%	50%	12%	44%	27%	50%	17%

[1] Four worked on other mission stations of the Province.
[2] As many of the men are quite young, a record of the total period worked is insignificant. We lack material here on the *proportion* of time spent at work.
[3] This is not a true random sample for informants were selected haphazard; therefore, the percentages have no exact significance, but a correlation between Christianity, literacy, skilled work, and long-term employment is suggested.

[p. 193]

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elder watches over the morals of his flock and it is his duty to report to the Session any breaches of Church law among his people. Through him the cards entitling members to attend communion are distributed, and cards are withheld from those whom the Session has agreed must be suspended from membership. Each man has, on the average, 125 people to care for. The women elders organize the women's weekly meetings, and take parties of women on preaching tours in pagan villages. They are the leaders in any charitable activities of the congregation and in the instruction of a Christian girl at her marriage. A woman elder settles disputes between two women, and in family quarrels she is often asked by the elder in charge of the village to help him to reconcile the couple. She is also a supervisor of morals and reports to the local elder if she 'hears any woman speaking like a pagan'. Deacons are elected like elders and are primarily responsible for the collection of Church dues and the administration of Church funds, but in a village in which there is no elder a deacon will carry out some of his duties.

In practice, then, each local group—a Christian village or village section—has its chosen leader, a male elder or deacon who conducts daily prayers in the local school house or his own home, and also fulfils many of the functions of an assistant village headman, arbitrating in disputes and acting as the spokesman of his village section. The traditional organization of the age-villages, in which an individual had some choice as to the village he should join, and was not bound by kinship connexions, makes an adaptation to villages in which those of the same faith live together easy. It is noticeable that the Pentecostal and Watch Tower converts build their own village sections apart from Moravians or Lutherans. And since the traditional village leaders are chosen, not hereditary, it is very easy for a leading Christian to become an assistant headman, more or less formally recognized by the village headman named at the 'coming out'.

At first the teachers were more directly under the supervision of the missionary than of the congregation, being selected by him and paid by the mission, but in the middle thirties, when funds from Germany ceased coming to the Moravian and Lutheran missions, the payment of village school teachers fell on the congregations of these denominations. Each village wanting a school had to provide a building, and in this pagans and Christians often co-operated, for many pagans also wanted their children to

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learn to read and write. In BuNyakyusa none of these village teachers was qualified and none received Government grants; they taught only the three R's in the vernacular and gave religious instruction. In Ngonde, however, some of them were qualified. Besides the village schools there were by 1935 central schools at mission stations, organized by the missions, and some of them drawing Government grants, which took children up to Standard IV; and at Rungwe and Kondowe (Livingstonia) just south of Ngonde, there were mission boarding schools, giving further education and (at Kondowe) training teachers, evangelists, and ministers. The policy of different missions regarding education varied; the Church of Scotland missionaries believed in it wholeheartedly and achieved a relatively high standard in their village schools; but the Lutherans were doubtful how far it was the function of a Church to give anything except religious instruction, and in their village schools children barely learnt to read. Opinion among the Moravians was divided. But despite these differences, all the missions have, in fact, played a great part in education. The first step—the reduction of the language to writing—was the work of the missionaries alone, and village schools have been very closely linked with congregations because, whatever their views on education in general, Protestant missionaries were agreed that to read the Gospels is the making of a Christian, and so literacy is usually required of candidates for baptism. Hence, the same man is often both teacher and elder, and the German missionaries who questioned the value of education laid the foundation of Nyakyusa literature with an admirable translation of the New Testament.

The missions have also been concerned with medical work. From before 1914 there has been a hospital run by the Lutheran mission at Itete, and one run by the Church of Scotland at Kondowe and, for a period, a large leper-settlement was run by the White Fathers at Mwakete. Medical activities are not directly the concern of congregations but Christian women are often drawn in as voluntary helpers in one way or another. In Kabembe the women deacons drew water for the sick and prepared food for a newly confined mother; at Karonga the women's association of the Church made clothes to be distributed through the babies' clinic, and so forth.

The congregations are not wholly self-supporting—the European missionaries are all paid from overseas and, until the middle thirties, funds for paying village teachers and evangelists were

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in similar schools in 1938. Less than 40 per cent of the children between eight and eleven years old[1] are as yet in school in Rungwe District and the demand for places is enormous. Among the most insistent are girls wanting education. During the 1930's the Education Department was trying, with little success, to coax girls to stay in school long enough to learn to read and write, but today nearly a third of the primary school pupils are girls. A handful of boys and girls go out of the district to attend middle or secondary schools, and a few candidates for training as teachers and district nurses come in. Thus an educated person, or one who goes out to work, mixes with people whose backgrounds and languages are quite different from his own.

Then people are richer than they used to be, partly because of the wages earned abroad, and partly because of the coffee and rice grown and exported. There is also some employment within the district on tea estates (especially important to women and girls), and coal and vermiculite mines. The value of peasant crops exported has risen from about £24,000 in 1936[2] to nearly £578,000 from coffee and rice alone in 1955,[3] and some men have made as much as £150 from their coffee in a year. A coffee cheque of £30 to £60 is common. In addition to the peasant crops there is tea from estates—well over a million pounds of made tea in 1955 as well as a quantity of seed. This increase in wealth has involved a change in the division of labour. Because men are not at home to clear and hoe, their wives, perforce, must clear fields and hoe for themselves, assisted by their young sons, boys who twenty years ago would not yet have stopped herding.

There has been a rapid increase in population, more especially in the hills, due partly to the development of health services and

[1] Number of children in Mission and Native Authority schools in Rungwe District, 1955:

Boys	Girls	Total	No. of children 8-11 years of age (estimated at 10% of total population)
6,592	2,054	8,646	23,639
Middle Schools			
718	73	791	(This total does not include those who are in middle schools *outside* the District, nor does it include those following a professional course *in* the District)

(Figures provided by the courtesy of the Provincial Education Officer, Mbeya.)
Change in Ngonde is not discussed for it was not possible to visit that area in 1955.

[2] *Good Company*, p. 16.

[3] Calculated from figures kindly supplied by the District Commissioner, Mr. Peter Johnston.